

Purpose: To study cross cultural meaning systems as a technical support to political activities (MKULTRA 95).

Initiated: Obligations approved in March and July, 1961. (This is the second year of support for work that was expected to take three years.)

Contractor: [REDACTED] ^C is a grantee of [REDACTED] ^B

Cost: \$63,390.00 (Previous year's budget was \$56,500.00).

Status: Continuing on schedule.

95-3

July 13, 1964

Memo to [redacted] A

C Re: [redacted] Accounting

Attached please find a copy of an accounting from [redacted] B
[redacted] This is a summary accounting for the years 1960 through
1964.

B We have received a check in the amount of \$5,921.02 from [redacted]
[redacted] and this has been deposited to our Regular Account
rather than Special because we need the money.

You can clear this one out now.

Best regards, [redacted] C

25-3

TERMINAL ACCOUNTING REPORT
JANUARY 1, 1960 - APRIL 30, 1964

Receipts:

182 975 ⁵⁰

Direct costs:

Personnel	76 787 10
Retirement	2 434 20
Workmen's compensation	635 49
Permanent equipment	1 762 89
Expendable supplies	4 993 57
Travel	38 713 41
Other expenses -	
Honoraria - foreign staff	17 687 64
Computer	6 998 61
Planning conference	11 876 59

36 542 34

Total other expense

161 683 61

Total direct costs

Total receipts over direct costs
Less indirect costs

31 091 70

25 170 78

5 921 02

Cash balance, April 30, 1964

This report was prepared in and agrees
with the records of the Accounting Division of

* Inv 1 56,500.00
 Inv 2 5,000.00
 Inv 3 48,390.00
 Inv 4 35,009.20
 COVER GRANT 28,076.36
 (C-163)

192,975.56

REFUND OF \$5,921.02 TO
APPLY AGAINST COVER GRANT

Chief Accountant

I certify that services or materials have been
satisfactorily received and the expenditures
were incurred on official business.

July 23, 1964

Date: July 22, 1969

April 15, 1964

A
Dear [REDACTED]:

Here are some more goodies.

A [REDACTED] requested an accounting on [REDACTED] which I have
attached. He also requested an accounting from [REDACTED] B
on [REDACTED] C I have written to the University for it.

Also, attached please find [REDACTED] B C
accounting for the year 1963.

Please give these to [REDACTED] A. There is no need for you
to have copies to clutter up your files since I keep duplicates
here.

One of these days we will be completely organized and
then we will go out of business.

Best.
[REDACTED] C

95-6

Date 23 July 1962

Branch DD Category Behavior Prediction and Control (V-b)

Project Title Cross Cultural Meaning Systems Item Classification None

Project Crypto MSULTRA Crypto Classification None

Branch Project No. B-72

Project Engineer [REDACTED] **A**

Contractor [REDACTED] **B**

Contract No. MSULTRA 895

Task No. None

Type of Contract MSULTRA

Date Initiated March 1962

Cost \$52,452.00

Completion Date March 1963

Purpose: The scope of this project involves the study of verbal communication channels between several different cultural groups in some critical geographical areas. Knowledge of the "hidden" values and cues in such systems is of interest for propaganda and other purposes.

Status: The study is on schedule in its final (third) year and will be completed on schedule. Data from six countries will be available.

95-7

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of treasurer's check No. 0001032
drawn on the [REDACTED] - E
[REDACTED], dated May 1, 1962, payable to the [REDACTED] - B
in the amount of \$35,009.20.

C
[REDACTED]
Date 10 May 1962

95-9

Date: 29 March 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE COMPTROLLER

ATTENTION: Finance Division

SUBJECT: MKULTRA, Subproject #95

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1961, from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 95 has been approved, and \$35,009.20 of the over-all Project MKULTRA funds have been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses and should be charged to cost center 2125-1390-3902.

A

[REDACTED]
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION
OF FUNDS:

A

[REDACTED]

I CERTIFY THAT ABOVE ARE AVAILABLE

OBLIGATION INCURRED IN: 1961

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. 2125-1390-3902

[REDACTED]
AUTHORIZING OFFICER

~~SECRET~~
Chief, Technical Services Division

Date: 11/1/62

Distribution:

Original & 2 - Addressee

1 - TSD/FASS ✓

2 - TSD/RB

[REDACTED]

95-10

16 April 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSD/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MKULTRA, Subproject #85, Invoice #4,
Allotment 2125-1390-3902

1. Invoice #4 covering the above subproject is attached.
It is requested that payment be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$35,009.20
drawn on a local bank, payable to [REDACTED] B

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research
Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, as soon as possible.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is
anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this
project, the files should not be closed.

[REDACTED] A
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

Attachments:
Invoice & Certifications

E [REDACTED]
Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee

0001032
CHECK# [REDACTED] IN THE AMOUNT OF \$35,009.20
RECEIVED.

5/11/72 [REDACTED] A

[REDACTED]

INVOICE

For Services

\$35,009.20

B

[REDACTED]

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice #4 applying to Subproject No. 95 of MKULTRA, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in TSD/RS, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, TSD/Research Branch

Date: 16 April 1962

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to Subproject 95 of MKULTRA which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953, from the CDD to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Chief, Technical Services Division

Date:

[REDACTED]

21-56

FORM 606 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

4

95-11

29 March 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD


SUBJECT : Project MKULTRA, Subproject 95


1. The purpose of this Subproject is to support for an additional year the work of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] in the field of cross cultural meaning systems. Although this fundamental work is being carried out within an abstract conceptual framework, its results can be directly relevant to Agency problems in [REDACTED] and the technical support of political activities.


2. When this project was proposed, it was anticipated that the work would take three years. The work has progressed very satisfactorily and, even though expanded in scope, has remained on schedule. The second annual progress report is attached.


3. This project will be funded through [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for security and cover purposes and the accounting for funds expended in it shall conform to the established practices of that organization. It is not anticipated that any permanent equipment will be required for the project.

95-11


4. Travel funds expended under this project and normally reimbursable by  shall conform to the accounting practices of that organization.

5. The total cost of this program for a period of one year is estimated not to exceed \$50,450.00. Unexpended funds, amounting to \$15,440.80 and held by  will be applied to the 1962 request. Therefore, the net cost of the project for the year will be \$35,009.20. Charges should be made against Allotment 2125-1390-3902.

6.  holds an Agency covert approval. All other project personnel are unwitting and the project will be conducted as an academic research program.


Chief
TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION
OF FUNDS:


Chief, DDP/TSD

Date: _____

Distribution:
Original only

B [REDACTED]
C [REDACTED]
April 2, 1962A
Dear [REDACTED]

Enclosed is copy of [REDACTED] accounting which should
be attached to renewal request I left with you last Wednesday.
We had sent you a copy of [REDACTED] progress report on January
5, 1962.

The cashier's check you wanted sent should have
arrived at its destination today.

C [REDACTED]
C [REDACTED]
Enclosure [REDACTED]

95-12

	Estimated Budget 1961	Expended 1961	Obligated 1961	Balance 1961	Estimated Budget 1962
Personnel.	30,917.00	28,741.74		2,175.26	22,916.00
Retirement	1,896.00	873.60		1,022.40	1,086.00
Workmen's Comp.	309.00	188.68		120.32	138.00
Supplies & Equip.	2,000.00	537.03	1,085.00	377.97	2,000.00
Travel	10,000.00	6,517.94	1,700.00	1,782.06	3,000.00
[REDACTED] F	7,000.00	8,210.25	2,300.00	(3,510.25)	10,730.00
[REDACTED] B	3,000.00	2,542.01		457.99	4,000.00
Indirect Costs	8,268.00	8,268.26		(.26)	6,580.00
Misc.		266.08		(266.08)	
	<u>63,390.00</u>	<u>56,145.59</u>	<u>5,085.00</u>	<u>2,159.41</u>	<u>50,450.00</u>

Balance 1961	2,159.41
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Balance 1960	2,317.30
--------------	----------

Travel Funds	<u>643.09</u>
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	5,119.80	<u>5,119.80</u>
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Requested		<u>45,330.20</u>
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This is a true statement of **[REDACTED]** financial status as reported to us.

I have examined and approved the submitted expenditures.

[REDACTED] A
 Chief
 Technical Division

Enter 4/8/62

95-13

February 27, 1962

B **C** accounting Jan. - Dec. 1961

Personnel- Salaries	28,741.74
Retirement	873.60
Workmen's Compensation	188.68
Supplies and Equipment	1,622.03
Travel	8,217.94
F C	10,510.25
	2,542.01
Miscellaneous	266.08
Indirect Admin. Costs	8,268.26

Total Expenses for 1961 \$ 61,230.59

C
This is a true statement of the expended and obligated funds of the **C** grant for 1961 as shown by the University.

Prepared by **C**

I have examined and approved the submitted expenditures.

A

Chief
TSS/Chemical Division.

Date: 4/8/62

95-14

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Cashier's Check No. 2-064726, dated August 15, 1961, in the
amount of \$48,300.00, drawn on [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] payable to the [REDACTED]

Date: August 17, 1961

TO: TSO/CC

This is a continuation of
Subproject No. 95.

1. Purpose of Project:

To study cross cultural learning
systems.

2. Project Monitor:

From: [REDACTED] Est.

DRAFT

A

8 March 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Project MKULTRA, Subproject 95

1. The purpose of this Subproject is to support for an additional year the work of [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] the field of cross cultural meaning systems. Although this fundamental work is being carried out within an abstract conceptual framework, its results can be directly relevant to Agency problems in [REDACTED] and the technical support of political activities. C

2. When this project was proposed, it was anticipated that the original work would take three years. The planned work is on schedule and the results have been very satisfactory. The first annual progress report is attached.

3. This project will be funded through the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for security and cover purposes and the accounting for funds expended in it shall conform to the established practices of that organization. It is not anticipated that any permanent equipment will be required for the project. B

4. Travel funds expended under this project and normally reimbursable by [REDACTED] shall conform to the accounting practices of that organization. B

5. The total cost of this program for a period of one year is estimated not to exceed \$63,390.00 as indicated in the budget attached. However, at the present time the project will only be extended for a period of four months. The cost of this project for this period will not exceed \$15,000.00. Charges should be made against Allotment 1125-1390-3902. It is anticipated that the remainder of the funds for the project year will be made available from FY-'62 money when available.

6. [redacted] holds an Agency covert approval. All other project personnel are unwitting and the project will be conducted as an academic research program.

A [redacted]

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

Chief
TSD/Research Branch

[redacted] A
Research Director

Date 2-1-61

APPROVED FOR ADDITIONAL OBLIGATION
OF FUNDS: (\$48,390.00 against
Allotment 2125-1390-3902

[redacted] A
Research Director

Date 14494
14495

Attachment:
Budget & Progress Report

Distribution:
Original Only

[redacted]



Object Class

[illegible]

95-18

Date: 11 July 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: TSP CONTROLLER

ATTENTION : Finance Division

SUBJECT : MAULTA, Subproject 95
Additional Authorization # 3

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the DCL to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 95 has been approved, and \$40,300.00 of the over-all Project MAULTA funds have been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses and should be charged to cost center 2125-1370-3902.

A [Redacted]
Chief
TSP/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION
OF FUNDS:

I CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE
OBLIGATION REFERENCE NO. 144
CHARGE TO ACCOUNT 2125-1370-3902
AUTHORIZING OFFICER

Original signed by A
Research Director

Date: 14 JUL 1961

Distribution:
Original & 2 - Addressee
1 - TSP/FAGS
2 - TSP/RB

95-19

17 July 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSD/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MINUTEMAN, Subproject 95, Invoice #3
Allotment 2000-1300-3502

1. Invoice #3 covering the above subproject is attached. It is requested that payment be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$43,300.00
drawn on [REDACTED] payable to [REDACTED] B

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than 11 August 1961.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files should not be closed.

A [REDACTED]
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

8 AUG 1961

Attachments:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:
Oria & 2 - 100-100000
1 - TSD/FASB
2 - TSD/RB (file)

TSD/RB: [REDACTED] 17 July 1961

A

I CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE
ORGANIZATION OFFICE NO. 144
PAGE TO FUNDING 2000-1300-3502

AUTHORIZING OFFICER

95-19

17 July 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : WFO/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : IOWA, Subproject 22, Invoice #3
Allotment 2485-1390-3902

1. Invoice #3 covering the above subproject is attached.
It is requested that payment be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$13,390.00
drawn on [redacted] payable to [redacted] B

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, WFO/Research
Branch, through WFO/Budget Officer, no later than 11 August 1961.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is
anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this
project, the files should not be closed.

A [redacted]
Chief
WFO/Research Branch

Attachments:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:
Cals & R - 1 Bureau

RECEIVED
CREDIT \$13,390.00
TOTAL AMOUNT OF \$13,390.00

A [redacted] 16 Aug 1961

S165

95-19

INVOICE

For Services

\$48,320.00

B

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice 3 applying to sub-project No. 95 of EXUMERA, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in TSD/RE, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, TSD/Research Branch

Date: _____

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to SubProject 95 of EXUMERA which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Research Director

Date: _____

CONFIDENTIAL FUNDS POSTING VOUCHER

[illegible]

95-20

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Treasurer's Check No. 181461, dated 3 April 1961, in the
amount of \$15,000.00, drawn on [REDACTED] E
payable to the [REDACTED] B.

E-
B-

April 10, 1961
Date

95-22

DATE: 8 March 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR : COMPTROLLER
ATTENTION : Finance Division
SUBJECT : MINUTIA, Subproject 95, Authorization No. 2

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1955, from the DCI to the DA/A and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 95 was previously approved. Under the same authority an additional sum of \$15,000.00 has been authorized to cover the subproject's expenses, to be charged against cost center 1125-1390-3002.

A

Chief
TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS: _____

~~SECRET~~
A

I CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE
OBLIGATION AUTHORIZED BY _____
CHARGE TO BUDGETARY CONTROL NO. _____

23 MAR
1961

Date: _____

Distribution:
Orig. 3 2 - Addressee

95-23

23 March 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCIAL DIVISION

VIA : TSD/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MCMERA, Subproject 97 Invoice #2
Allotment 4403-1350-3808

1. Invoice #2 covering the above subproject is attached.
It is requested that payment be made as follows:

B Cashier's check in the amount of \$15,000
drawn on [redacted] payable to [redacted]

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than 7 April 1961.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files should not be closed.

A [redacted]
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

Attachments:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee

- 1 - TSD/PASS
- 2 - TSD/RS

1 COPY MUST BE MADE AVAILABLE
CONTINUING FOR [redacted] mfb
CHECKED FOR [redacted]

E [redacted]

A [redacted]

FILED [redacted] THE SECRET OF [redacted]
RECEIVED [redacted]

44-2

100-4

95-23

INVOICE

For Services

\$15,000.00

CERTIFICATION

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice 2 applying to sub-project No. 95 of MURKIN, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with verbal agreements, that a detailed agenda of the pay costs and receipts is on file in 500/lab, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, R&D/Research Branch

Enter: _____

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to SubProject 95 of MURKIN which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DGI to the Eo/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Research Director

Enter: _____

95-23

CONFIDENTIAL FUNDS POSTING VOUCHER

VOUCHER NO. 7-12

DATE 2-6

VOUCHER NO. 7-12

DESCRIPTION ALL OTHER ACCOUNTS 13-23				STATION				58-67				71-80	
ADVANCE ACCOUNTS 13-27				CODE				GENERAL				AMOUNT	
				EXPEND				ACCT. NO.				DEBIT	
				PER. L.I.O.				ACCT. NO.				CREDIT	
				FVS				ACCT. NO.					

DESCRIPTION 95-23

87-1

1712

6460

95-1386-398752

1540050

1540000

HHOLITH

72-1116

240

15401461

EXPLANATION OF ENTRY

TOTALS

1540000 1540000

See attached

DATE

PREPARED BY

DATE

REVIEWED BY

DATE

CERTIFIED FOR PAYMENT OR CREDIT

SIGNATURE OF CERTIFYING OFFICER

FORM 10-59 606 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

For [REDACTED] B

95-24

A PROGRESS REPORT: JANUARY 1, 1960 -- DECEMBER 31, 1961

The Cross-Cultural Generality of Meaning Systems
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] B

SUMMARY

The first year of research under our grant has been devoted primarily to (a) establishing contacts and making arrangements for collaboration in various countries, (b) preparing a basic list of translation-equivalent substantives for eliciting qualifiers in each language to be studied, and (c) collecting and analyzing data for Phase I (see below) in most of the countries in our original sample. For a variety of reasons to be given in this report, the number of countries participating in this project has been tentatively expanded to nearly double the original number; to handle this increase will require a relatively small increase in budget for the second and third years of the project, approximately \$7,500 per year for expansion (see budget section below).

Progress to date may be summarized as follows: (1) Using groups of subjects bilingual in English and one of six other languages being studied in our project, an original list of 200 "culture-common" substantives has been paired to 100 terms which meet the criteria of ease and uniqueness of translation for all languages. (2) Elicitation of qualifiers of these substantives, as stimuli in a modified word-association procedure, from 100 junior high school level males has been accomplished in the field for seven countries. (3) Computer analysis of the frequency/diversity characteristics (the H measure) of the sample of qualifiers has been finished for five of these countries, and the further ordering of qualifiers in terms of H and ϕ_i (index of qualifier similarity) has been concluded for four countries. (4) Elicitation of common opposites for these ordered qualifiers, to a total of 50 usable scales, has been accomplished in the field for four of these countries. (5) Collection of data from 200 similar subjects, with each scale related directly to every other scale, and factor analysis of these data on [REDACTED] has been completed

B

9524

F for two countries [redacted] and the U.S. control). Although it is too early to report firm conclusions, (a) correlational analysis of the ordering of qualifiers (by H) as translated, is high (.81) between [redacted] and English and appears by inspection to be equally high for other samples, and (b) the unrotated factors for F [redacted] and English display obvious similarities.

Since Phase I is by all odds the most complex and time-consuming of the three phases in this research, we feel that we are just about on schedule with regard to collecting and processing our data. However, to collect and analyse data from the expanded sample will require the addition of another computer assistant and several field workers (to assist senior people in new countries).

B Selection of the countries with which to work followed the general criteria established at [redacted] in February, 1960: that they should represent "high cultures," by definition literate, possessed of a stabilized and normatively-directed language and literature, of a recorded and generally known history, and of an educational system employing the indigenous language; that they provide a maximum of diversity in both language and culture with a minimal number of countries sampled; that they be reasonably accessible relative to each other; that they have social scientists and institutions capable of collaborating in the research.

F Accordingly, the following six countries were selected for study: [redacted] F with the UNITED STATES (serving as a common control). These research locations and the languages represented are given in the upper part of Table 1. This sample offers six different major language families (Finno-Ugric, Japanese, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian, Semitic, and Indo-European) and a variety of cultures. [redacted] C visited [redacted] in April, 1960, and the remaining countries in July, 1960. In each country excellent arrangements for research cooperation were obtained. F

C High interest in this project has been expressed by social scientists from a number of additional countries. Considering that one of our purposes is to develop comparable instruments for measuring subjective culture, and also that adding to the number of participating countries does not add proportionately to the expense and work-load of our own staff, we have entered into arrangements for cooperative research with three additional countries, but under a single senior monitor trained B [redacted] F is responsible for collecting data in [redacted] F [redacted] and have made provisional arrangements for three more where C/F excellent local supervision has been offered [redacted]

C/F [redacted] and [redacted] plans to develop the research in [redacted] in the course of his extended period in [redacted] this year; contacts were also made by [redacted] C

C with social scientists in the [redacted] for possible cooperative research there, but there has been no indication of favorable response to date. With the exception of [redacted] where the first phase data collection and analysis is well underway, these additional countries are "under advisement."

F Work in [redacted] and [redacted] will depend upon the direct efforts of [redacted] while in these areas this spring and summer.

C/E [redacted] has already made preliminary arrangements with [redacted] and will complete arrangements while in [redacted] this March; [redacted] has been a visiting professor in the Institute during this year and will be given full instructions before returning home. In each of these last three cases provisions for a graduate student assistant will be necessary. B

PROGRESS ON PHASE I

The steps in preparing materials, collecting data, and analysing data for Phase I fall rather naturally into seven stages. These stages are described below, and Table 2 provides a graphic summary of progress to date in each country (areas where arrangements have not been completed are omitted from this table). Each of these stages will be described in terms of field method and/or computational procedures and in the order of their completion. It will be noted that Phase I involves several exchanges of information between the field workers and the computational crew. B

Stage 1: Selection of Basic List of Substantives

Following recommendations made at [redacted], a search was made for sources of culturally neutral (i.e., the so-called "culture-fair" or "cultural universal") stimuli. This resulted in a list of 200 selected substantives as stimulus items to be used in the elicitation of modifier associations. Grammatical analyses of the relevant languages were performed to provide a uniform description, to identify the forms which the modifier-substantive relationship would take, to identify the regularizable morphological variations, and to establish compatibility with the American data (the so-called noun-adjective relationship). It was taken as axiomatic that all field procedures would be replicated exclusively in the indigenous language, without reference to translation.

The 200-item list was then field-tested (in the United States and [redacted]) with native speakers of each language, both to acquire assured and uncontested translation-equivalents, and to immediately eliminate any terms which were diffuse, ambiguous, vague or otherwise culture-bound. Similar tests were made with small groups of 10-15 English/X bilinguals in this country (both in [redacted] and [redacted]). Any substantive which failed to meet the translation criteria for any language was eliminated from the list to be used with all groups. B

The resultant list was then further pruned on the basis of variability, productiveness and further intra-cultural checks of uniformity. A terminal list of 100 items was thus derived. These items were of an order to yield a high diversity of modifier-types in testing.

A parallel study of American college subjects was completed at this time, which indicated that the form of the stimulus items did not appear to be a crucial determinant of the quantity and character of the associations elicited. This study employed four distinct stimulus-types: nouns, pictures of simple objects, geometrical forms, and zero-types (i.e., no stimulus at all was offered). Only in the instance of the geometrical forms was there any pronounced tendency for the associations to differ in quantity or character from those otherwise obtained. With this confirmation of the adequacy of the proposed procedures, instructions and forms were prepared for distribution to the field-workers. (A similar study, independently done F [redacted] was later called to our attention, further confirming this finding cross-culturally). In the field, spot checks of translation reliability relative to social dialects, idiom and precision were performed. A sketch of the linguistic factors of the entire project was distributed to field-workers.

Stage 2: Collection of Qualifiers

As each group offers a unique morphology, and as there is a degree of non-uniqueness in morphological analysis, the method of eliciting modifier-associations decided upon was to employ appropriate syntactical frames in each language for the insertion of modifiers relative to the substantives -- rather than to simply request the correct grammatical type. Illustrative frames in each language are worked into the instructions for each group. The resultant criterion of acceptability of any qualifiers is therefore relative to the language in question, not to any arbitrary grammatical scheme. Field workers are instructed to use this criterion in collating their qualifier data; similarly, the field workers are instructed to regularize the possible grammatical variants where such features were irrelevant to the semantic nexus of the response.

A group of 100 young males (roughly 12-16, equivalent of junior high school) is given the instructions and the list of 100 substantives in their own language; to these items they write down the first qualifier (according to the illustrative frames given in the instructions) that occurs to them for each stimulus. The field worker collates these data, listing all the responses to each substantive (in the orthography of the subjects, in some cases in a standardized form of transcription -- e.g., for Chinese -- and with an English translation) and their frequencies on a single data sheet. The English translations are for information of the computational staff, but are not used in subsequent analyses. These data are then mailed [redacted] B

The received data are then carefully re-screened to check the identity of grammatically variable but semantically identical items. Non-clear modifiers and clear non-modifiers are discarded. The remainder comprises the population of qualifier types and frequencies from which selection will be made for eventual construction of bi-polar scales.

Stage 3: Computation of a Frequency/diversity Index

Two basic summary measures are calculated for each of the discovered modifier-types: an index of the total frequency of occurrence for each modifier across the 100 stimulus items and an index of the total diversity of stimulus items eliciting the given modifier. It is felt that these two measures are most useful in indicating the relative "linguistic utility" of each qualifier-type, as they take into account both a qualifier's emission frequency and its breadth of usage.

In order to standardize and summarize the total effect of these two indices, the entropy measure, H , is calculated for each qualifier-type. The qualifiers having the highest H thus display the greatest overall frequency and generality of usage, and qualifiers thus ranked (and translated into English) can be compared across all groups. Data already collected and analysed in this manner indicate that the H -ranked qualifiers are well correlated in translation. (Translation comparability does not require 1:1 correspondence -- which is practically impossible -- but rather the representation of extremely circumscribed "semantic areas" which permits a comparison and correlation procedure such as that employed, and supports its validity).

The Pearson-product moment correlation coefficient for the first 200 ranked modifiers of the American and ~~British~~ samples was computed to be .81 and indicates that the independently-derived modifier-types have extraordinarily high translation comparability for the two groups. Although the comparable correlations for the remaining groups are still in progress, a rudimentary inspection of the raw data in hand indicates that the same order of comparability will undoubtedly obtain. This result is of considerable importance; it both validates the procedures against certain criticisms and, more importantly, substantiates the hypothesized generality of meaning systems even at the level of selective qualifier usage.

Stage 4: Selection of a Representative Sample of Qualifiers

This stage involves the procedures used to select the basic qualifier lists for each group from the population of qualifiers obtained. It is, in many respects, the most crucial part of the Phase I analysis. The selection criteria must have, as their end result, the selection of modifiers which fully sample the range of 'semantic' dimensions employed by the subjects, and therefore, by implication, psycholinguistically comprehensive for the language itself.

Furthermore, it is of paramount importance that all procedures be analytic, reproducible ubiquitously, and independent of cultural determinants. Informant-translations, dictionary-translations and glosses do not answer these requirements.

After a number of trials, the correlation measure ϕ was finally adopted. This measure utilizes the character of the distribution of the modifier responses to the substantive stimuli, and indexes the similarity of that distribution between all modifier pairs. This procedure is in many respects similar to the operational definition employed by some schools of linguistics, in attempting to derive an analytic criterion for meaning. The meaning of any given form, in this view, becomes the pattern of distribution of the possible environments in which the form appears within the entire corpus. In the present study, the 100 item stimulus list becomes the corpus (i.e., the potential environment source).

Face validation of this procedure was sought by examining the content of the qualifiers found to correlate highly in distribution. In the main, items with high distributional similarity were those with high judged 'semantic' similarity. Although lexical identity cannot be perfectly achieved, this procedure fulfils the aforementioned requirements closely and was, therefore, adopted. Additional evidence for the validity of the procedure was obtained in the subsequent factoring of the paired adjective similarity measures discussed below.

The procedure as finally adopted correlates the distributional overlap of each of the modifiers with its next higher H-ranking qualifier in order. Lower ranking qualifiers with ϕ coefficient positive correlations with preceding higher ranking qualifiers beyond the .005 significance level are discarded. This process is continued until 60-70 modifiers are selected or the population is exhausted, each selected modifier being compared with all previously retained modifiers. The selected modifiers constitute the sample of potential terms to be used in the construction of bi-polar scales.

Stage 5: Elicitation of Opposites

The aforementioned list of 60-70 selected qualifiers is now submitted to the field worker for the elicitation of opposites. The lists are submitted by the field workers to approximately 10 independent informants who are judged linguistically sophisticated in the Mother Tongue. Opposites are selected on the basis of unanimity of judgments. Where identical majority antonyms do not occur, items are re-submitted to informants on a forced choice basis. Fifty modifiers and their opposites are sought on this basis. Those in excess of 50 are discarded on criteria of linguistic similarity, ambiguity or inappropriateness, where otherwise unanimity has been achieved, but these discards are of items in the lower H-rankings.

Stage 6: Collection of Scale-on-scale Relationship Data

To assess the factorial structures of the bi-polar scales thus obtained, a second sample of subjects is used in a paired-sample task, (scale-against-scale analysis).

Preliminary investigations^F on the design of this task have been carried out in the United States and ~~Canada~~. The preliminary form employed all possible combinations of pairs of the 50 scales, combinations varying in the ordering of the scales within each pair and the direction of the opposites. This form contained 4,900 judgments obtained from a total of 200 subjects in each country. Each judgment reflected the degree of meaningful relationship felt to obtain by the subject between every scale and every other scale in the total 50 scales.

Analysis of the data indicated that the correlations between the normal and reversed ordering were high. Reliability checks for the American data showed that the reliabilities for all variations in ordering of the constituent pair items were uniform and high. These reliabilities ranged between $r = .73$ to $r = .80$. Although the correlations between conditions in these data were high, it was felt that one of the conditions -- that involving a reversal of the direction of the scale-opposite-terms -- was sufficiently low (correlations between judgments obtained for the bi-polar scale in order A-B with those for order B-A being between .84 and .89 after correction for attenuation) to warrant experimental control. Controlling for this one variable and discarding control of the second resulted in the decision to reduce the total judgment task to 2500 items. This new task has been submitted to ~~Canada~~ and is being completed there and in the USA. The representation of this segment was considered desirable in view of the changed format of the judgment forms, and as an occasion for a second cross-validation of the shortened procedure. The shortened procedure is also more desirable for field techniques.

Stage 7: Correlational and Factorial Analysis of Phase I Data

The procedures within this segment are entirely uniform and do not depend upon cultural and/or morphological variability. The scale-on-scale judgments are summarized in the form of mean ratings for each of the inter-scale comparisons and returned ~~to the USA~~ for analysis. These mean ratings are then factor-analysed following Thurstone's centroid model, after the ancillary inter-correlations between each of the scale mean ratings and all others have been computed. The proportion of variance accounted for by each of the extracted factors is inspected and decisions concerning the number of factors are made with regard to the number of factors which contribute to a meaningful summary of the total variance.

The Varimax criterion for orthogonal rotation of factors is being tentatively employed in this terminal segment of Phase I. This rotation scheme was chosen because of its empirically-verified approximation to "simple structure" criteria. The technique tends to redistribute variance in the large first factors produced by the Centroid methods more evenly across the total battery of rotated factors.

The completed analysis on the American data indicates that sufficient numbers of orthogonal scales were present in the scale-on-scale task to display at least three distinct factors. These are identifiable as those component factors found previously, i.e., those termed Evaluation, Potency and Activity. The unrotated [redacted] data display obvious similarities to the American.

It is clear that the data analysed to date replicate and confirm the findings of earlier investigations. In view of the fact that the procedures developed for the present investigation were in all respects independent of that earlier work, these findings are particularly gratifying. The analyses performed to date in Phase I also support in all respects the predicted generality of the affective dimensions of diverse cultures. Phase II will be initiated [redacted] and the USA early this spring, and in several other countries by this summer. F

BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS

Table 3 presents a summary of the expenditures for the first year period of the contract. It will be noted that a balance of \$1,805.30 over the estimated budget for this period was recorded. These funds represent expenses incurred during the first year period which have not as yet been paid out. Notable among these as-yet-to-be-paid expenses are the fees and miscellaneous expenses for ~~personnel~~. As a consequence, the balance has not been applied to the succeeding years' estimates of expenditure.

Table 4 presents the summary of the original and revised budget estimates for the second and third years of the contractual period. Items representing increases over the original estimates are designated by "+". The total increase in requested funds is estimated to be \$17,772 for the remaining two years of the contract. This increase covers the following anticipated expenditures:

Personnel: It is proposed that the salaries of the two full-time contract employees, ~~_____~~ be increased by \$500 each, an increase deemed appropriate in view of the quality of their services to date and in keeping with the general increases in academic salaries for persons of comparable rank. It is also proposed that the salary of the half-time secretary be increased by \$450 in view of the responsibilities and character of this position as it has been defined by the first year's work. Regular salary increases of \$50 have been authorized by ~~_____~~ for all academic graduate student assistants and have been noted in the table. It is proposed that an additional half-time graduate assistant be added to the contract personnel in view of the increased work load. ~~_____~~ the proposed additional assistant, is a graduate student major in statistics with extensive computer experience. Her salary as an assistant is far below that which she could reasonably expect if employed elsewhere.

Retirement and Workmen's Compensation: The increase in expenses covering compensation and retirement funds follows the total increase in personnel salaries. The calculations are as noted in Table 4.

Expendable Supplies: In view of the increased scope of the project an additional request for funds for paper, mimeo stencils and the like amounting to \$500 for each of the remaining two years is made. This increase would cover the necessary paper costs for the extensive subject forms anticipated to be needed.

Honoraria: ~~_____~~ Several additional ~~_____~~ assistants will be required in ~~_____~~ anticipated to be included in the investigation sample.

B
[REDACTED] computer facilities: The increase in funds requested for this budget line amounting to \$1,000 for each of the remaining two years reflects the anticipated additional calculation costs. In terms of the doubled sample size this increase is relatively small. It is anticipated that the additional costs will not be great because of the standard and efficient operations already developed for processing the data in the first year's period.

Total Costs per year: The total expected costs are thus estimated to be \$8,886 in excess of the originally allocated funds for each year remaining.

TABLE 1

<u>Country</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Language family</u>	<u>Project status</u>	<u>Field-center</u>	<u>Monitor</u>
U.S.A.	English	Indo-European	in progress		
	Finnish	Finno-Ugic	in progress		
	Japanese	Japanese	in progress		
	Cantonese	Sino-Tibetan	in progress		
	Kannada	Dravidian	in progress		
	Farsi	Indo-European	in progress		
	Arabic	Semitic	in progress		
	Hindi*	Indo-European	advisement ³		
	Farsi**	Indo-European	advisement		
	Flemish	Indo-European	in progress		
	French	Indo-European	in progress		
	Dutch	Indo-European	in progress		
	Polish	Indo-European	advisement		
	Serbian	Indo-European	advisement		
	Swedish	Indo-European	advisement		
	Russian	Indo-European	advisement		

NOTES:

*Hindi will be supplemented with Urdu which is morphologically the same, differs only in script and some items of lexicon, but presents a religio-cultural contrast.

**This national contrast will be supplemented by Pashto when methods for dealing with preliterate-literate equivalence testing have been evolved. The present contrast is cross-national (and historic).

3. "Advisement" refers to several different type of status -- see text.

TABLE 2

Word Segments of Phase I Completed and in Progress
in Each of the Participating Countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>Stage Number</u>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
USA	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[REDACTED]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[REDACTED]	X	X	X	X	X	0	
[REDACTED]	X	X	X	X	X	0	
[REDACTED]	X	X	X	0			
[REDACTED]	X	X	0				
[REDACTED]	X	X	0				
[REDACTED]	X	0					
[REDACTED]	X	0					

NOTE: See text for identification of work segment numbers. "X" entries indicate work completed, "0" indicates work now in progress.

95124

TABLE 3

Expenditures During Period Beginning Jan. 1, 1960 and Ending Jan. 1, 1961

	<u>Estimated</u>	<u>Expended</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Personnel Payroll	\$19,167.00	\$18,650.85	
Retirement	1,662.00	456.03	
Workmen's Compensation	227.00	185.25	
Permanent Equipment	600.00	682.09	
Expendable Supplies	1,500.00	637.09	
Travel	10,000.00	11,076.85	
Honoraria, ██████████ F	3,000.00	3,003.62	
Conference	3,000.00	2,623.40	
██████████ B	1,000.00	795.57	
Indirect Costs	6,023.00	6,023.36	
Misc. Charges		149.50	
<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>\$46,179.00</u>	<u>\$44,293.70</u>	<u>\$1,885.30</u>

95-24

TABLE 4

Estimated Budget

	Original Estimate 1/1/61 12/31/61	Revised Estimate 1/1/61 12/31/61	Original Estimate 1/1/62 12/1/62	Revised Estimate 1/1/62 12/1/62
PERSONNEL:				
Principal Investigator, [REDACTED]	\$ 1,667	\$ 1,667	\$ 1,667	\$ 1,667
Research Assistant [REDACTED]	7,500	8,000+	7,500	8,000+
Research Assistant [REDACTED]	7,500	8,000+	7,500	8,000+
Research Assistant [REDACTED]	2,400	2,450+	2,400	2,450+
Research Assistant [REDACTED]	2,400	2,450+	2,400	2,450+
Research Assistant [REDACTED]	2,400	2,450+	2,400	2,450+
Research Assistant [REDACTED]	2,400	2,450+	2,400	2,450+
Secretary, 1/2 time	1,500	1,950+	1,500	1,950+
Clerical help, 25 hours/week	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
	<u>\$26,867</u>	<u>\$30,917</u>	<u>\$26,867</u>	<u>\$30,917</u>
TOTAL				
Retirement	1,759	1,896+	1,759	1,896+
9.66% salaries of full-time staff				
Workmen's Compensation	269	309+	269	309+
1% all salaries and wages				
Expendable Supplies	1,000	1,500+	1,000	1,500+
Mimeo stencils, paper, etc.	500	500	500	500
Telephone, stamps, etc.				
Travel	10,000	10,000	3,000	3,000
Honoraria, [REDACTED]	5,000	7,000+	1,000	3,000+
[REDACTED] computer facilities	2,000	3,000+	2,000	3,000+
Total Direct Costs	47,395	55,122	36,395	44,122
Indirect Costs (15%)	7,109	8,268	5,459	6,618
Total per Year	\$54,504	\$63,390	\$41,854	\$50,740
Additional Request		\$ 8,886		\$ 8,886

95-25


DATE: 8 March 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR : CONTROLLER

ATTENTION : Finance Division

SUBJECT : MEXHARA, Subproject 95, Authorization No. 2

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953, from the DSI to the DE/A and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 95 was previously approved. Under the same authority an additional sum of \$15,000.00 has been authorized to cover the subprojects expenses, to be charged against cost center 1125-1360-3902.

A 
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

Date: _____

Distribution:
Orig. & 2 - Addressee

Feb. 24, 1961

Memorandum to ^A [redacted] ^CSubject: [redacted] ^C

Attached please find a copy of [redacted] Progress report and new budget indicating an increase of \$8,858.00 over the original estimates for 1961 and 1962.

I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to [redacted] that was sent in accordance with my instructions from [redacted] ^C

Please expedite this proposal so we can keep everything lovely.
Thanks.

[redacted] ^C

Rec'd 1400 17 March 1961

95-27

February 21, 1961

[REDACTED] C
[REDACTED] B

Re: [REDACTED] C

C [REDACTED] is still enjoying himself in [REDACTED] while we
dine at home.

As you know we specified in our original granting
letter the need for a progress report in December. Our Board
of Directors requires this report before it can grant us
additional year's support. I understand that such a report is
now in the mail.

In the meantime, in order to assist you, the Board
of Directors has granted future funds in the amount of \$10,000.00
until appropriate action for future support has been made. We
doed please find the Society's check in this amount.


As soon as your report is received, it will be submitted
to our Board. I hope this arrangement is satisfactory to you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

C [REDACTED]
Assistant Secretary

[REDACTED] C
Enc.




1 January 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Extension of MKULTRA No. 95

Subproject No. 95, expiring 31 December 1960 is extended in time only until the balance of \$10,321.00 is expended.

A



Chief
TSD/Research Branch

Orig. only



75-29

95F

January 6, 1960

Dear [REDACTED] B

In accordance with our letter of December 9, 1959, enclosed please find the [REDACTED] check in the amount of \$11,544.75 representing the first quarterly payment to your institution on the grant made for The Cross Cultural Generalities of Learning Systems under the direction of [REDACTED] C

Sincerely,

[REDACTED] C
Assistant Treasurer

Enc.

95K

December 9, 1959

[REDACTED] B

Dear [REDACTED]:

B The Board of Directors of [REDACTED] has approved the proposal "The Cross Cultural Generality of [REDACTED]" under the direction of [REDACTED] C
 1. [REDACTED] in the amount of \$11,944.75 which represents the first quarterly payment on the first yearly grant of \$46,177.00 will be forwarded to you shortly after the first of the year.

The following conditions apply to the utilization of these funds:

1. An annual and informal progress report to be submitted during the month of December.
2. An annual accounting of funds to be rendered for our records.
3. After the completion of the research, any funds remaining shall be returned to [REDACTED] B
4. At the termination of the grant, arrangements for the disposition of the equipment purchased with these funds will be made.
5. If, at any point, further research in this area is deemed not excellent or scientifically profitable, [REDACTED] shall be notified or shall notify [REDACTED] in order to negotiate B
 for termination of the grant.
6. Any technical reports or papers which grow out of the studies, or other work in this grant shall contain the following notice: B
 "This material was prepared in part by a grant from [REDACTED] B
 [REDACTED] B"

Other than the above conditions, it is required that funds be expended exclusively for the research described and that no profits accrue to any individual.

The Board of Directors and the scientific advisors to [REDACTED] join B
 in wishing you luck in this endeavor and in dealing with us for any and those that may be able to provide.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED] C

[REDACTED] C

95-31

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Treasurer's Check No. 168390, dated August 13, 1959, in the
amount of \$56,502.00, drawn on [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] payable to the [REDACTED]

C [REDACTED]
Date Aug 19, 1959

95-33

7 August 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSS/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MATHEA, Subproject 95, Invoice #1
Allotment 0525-1009-4002

1. Invoice #1 covering the above subproject is attached.
It is requested that payment be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$56,500.00
drawn on a [REDACTED] payable to [REDACTED] B

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSS/Chemical
Division, through TSS/Budget Officer, no later than 20 August 1959.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated
that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files
should not be closed.

[REDACTED] A
Chief
TSS/Chemical Division

Attached:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:

Orig & 2 - Addressee: [REDACTED] E

CHECKED FOR AMOUNT OF \$56,500.00
[REDACTED] 4002
[REDACTED] C

12670

INVOICE

For services

\$56,500.00

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice No. 1 applying to Subproject No. 95 of IRUWHA, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in ISS/CD, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, ISS/Clinical Division

Date:

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to Subproject No. 95 of IRUWHA which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DPA, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Research Director

Date:

95-34


21 July 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: COMPTROLLER

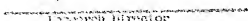
ATTENTION : Finance Division

SUBJECT : HADIMA, Subproject 95

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the LCI to the BD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 95 has been approved and \$55,500.00 of the over-all HADIMA project funds has been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses. This obligation of funds should be charged to Allotment 0925-1009-4903.

 A
Chief
TSS/Chemical Division

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:


Research Director

Notes:

Distribution:

Orig & 2 - Addressee

- 1 - TSS/CC
- 1 - TSS/FASB
- 2 - TSS/CD

TSS/CD/ (21 July 59)

A

95-35 p

B

[REDACTED]

October 20, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Directors

SUBJECT: Project Proposal [REDACTED] Category A

Enclosed is a proposal for [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] B
which outlines a possible approach to the solution of basic problems involved
in cross-cultural communication.

Before receiving this proposal, the general ideas contained were
discussed with [REDACTED] C
(see comments attached). While questions may be raised about the theories
which underlie [REDACTED] C research, the consultants, without exception, have
recommended that the preliminary work be accomplished. You will note that the
proposal calls for considerable consultation in the early stages which will ensure
guidance to the study.

It is recommended that this proposal be approved for support by the
Society for the first year preliminary phase in the amount of \$45,177.

[REDACTED] C
Executive Secretary

95-35

APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH GRANT

Application is hereby made to:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B

For a grant in the amount of:

\$142,537

For the period:

from JANUARY 1, 1960 to DECEMBER 31, 1962

For research on:

THE CROSS-CULTURAL GENERALITY OF NEANDERTHAL
SYSTEMS

To be conducted by:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

B

Under the direction of:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C

C

Approval Signatures:

Project Director

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C

Supervisor

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C

Financial Officer

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C

University Authorization

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

C

I. OBJECTIVES

The general purposes of this research are: first, to obtain further evidence on the commonness of meaning systems across various cultures and language groups; second, to develop, on the basis of this common semantic framework, standardized instruments for measuring non-material (subjective) culture in different parts of the world; and, third, to apply these instruments to the study of certain critical concepts cross-culturally. Research already completed (see section II below) indicates considerable similarity of connotative meaning factors in groups as diverse in both culture and language as Americans, Greeks, Japanese, and Navajo Indians. If this can be shown to hold generally, then it becomes possible to construct "common yardsticks" for measuring attitudes, stereotypes and values held by different language/culture groups in directly comparable fashion.

Comparisons across cultures, despite differences in language, are feasible for material traits, like the making of pottery, but extremely difficult for most non-material culture traits. How can we assess and compare those things for which language is the chief expression when there are no common reference points in language itself? If the linguistic relativity hypothesis -- that people who speak different languages necessarily think differently, perceive the world differently, and even must formulate different philosophies -- is accepted literally, as it is by some linguistics and anthropologists, then such comparisons are impossible. This may hold for denotative aspects of language (the arbitrary "mapping" of experience into the language code). It does not seem to hold for connotative aspects of language (the expression in language of affective reactions to experience). The affective reactions people make to events and symbols are important determiners of their behavior, political, social and otherwise; and some method of measuring affective meaning would, therefore, be useful.

The immediate objective of the research for which this grant is requested is to apply the techniques already developed with Americans to a systematic investigation of meaning systems in six additional countries differing widely in both language and culture (e.g., ~~_____~~). Using both monolingual and bilingual subjects in these countries, and American control-comparison groups, we will determine the degree of commonness of factor structure, construct semantic differential forms in each language, test their comparability, and then apply them to the measurement of certain critical concepts. Details of the procedure are given in section III.

We have several long-range objectives. In the first place, the simple demonstration of a shared semantic framework, common to the human species despite differences in both language and culture, would be a contribution to social science theory; it would also indicate limitations on the generality of Whorf's hypothesis of linguistic relativity. Secondly, we feel that this research will be a contribution to improved international communication and understanding. The development of comparable measures of what things mean to people, and the isolation of clear differences in meanings and values where they exist, should enable us to do a better job of "getting through" to other countries and understanding what they are trying to say to us. Thirdly, on methodological grounds, the measuring

instruments developed in this research may provide a way of making objective and explicit those subtle attitudes, meanings, values and beliefs held by peoples in other cultures which anthropologists and political scientists, as well as observers, travelers, and foreign service personnel, arrive at by more implicit and intuitive means. Information obtained with such instruments, while not substituting for the sensitivity such observers have developed, should serve as a complement to their analyses. Finally, if the results obtained in the present study of six countries, deliberately selected to represent diversity in both language and culture, continue to indicate the essential sameness of meaning systems, we would hope to put this type of research on a continuing basis -- to gradually develop a "World Atlas" of connotative meaning systems, along with the translations-equivalent instruments for investigating subjective culture which can be devised from this information.

II. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

B For the past ten years members of the staff of *B* have been working on the development of quantitative techniques for measuring meaning. The underlying logic of our approach has been as follows: The meaning of a concept can be represented as a point in an n-dimensional space defined by a set of independent (orthogonal) factors. Difference in meaning can be represented by the distance between any two points in this space. Factor analysis of the correlations among large numbers of bi-polar adjectival scales (e.g., good-bad, hard-soft, quick-slow, simple-complex, predictable-unpredictable, etc.), when these are used in the judgment of samples of concepts, can be used to determine the natural structure of the meaning space, i.e., the major dimensions in terms of which people discriminate the connotations of concepts. In a number of such analyses, using different samples of subjects, scales and concepts, three general factors have repeatedly appeared and together account for about two thirds of the reliable variance -- an evaluative factor, a potency factor, and an activity factor. Measuring instruments, called "semantic differentials," are derived from these factor analyses by selecting a small number of adjectival scales having relatively high and pure loadings on the factors they represent. This early factor analytic work, along with evaluation of the reliability, validity and comparability of semantic differential measures across both subjects and concepts, is described in The Measurement of Meaning (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957 -- see supplemental materials).

Also described in this book are applications of semantic measurement in various areas: In the personality area it has been used to trace the changes in meaning that occur in patients during the course of therapy, to measure individual differences in the self-concept, and in a blind analysis of a case of triple personality (cf., The Three Faces of Eve, by Thigpen and Cheekley). In the social area, the technique has been in studying attitude change, including interaction effects (e.g., between source and topic) where comparability in the measurement of attitudes toward different objects is essential. A study was done by Suci on the 1952 presidential election, where it was possible to identify significant differences in concept meanings for Republican and Democratic voters and also to predict for "Don't Know" voters would finally cast their ballots (although the number of such voters in the sample was small, unfortunately). Other applications include studies on the development of semantic discrimination in children, psycholinguistic studies

on the semantic effects of combining words into phrases, and studies in the fields of aesthetics and advertising.

Our interest in cross-cultural studies grew out of attempts to demonstrate the stability of semantic factor structure across different groups of subjects. Working within the American culture and language, we had found no significant differences between males and females, between voters of different party affiliation, between people undergoing therapy and those not, or even between groups of schizophrenics and matched normal controls. The most stringent test of the generality of combinatoric meaning systems across human groups should be to compare people who differ simultaneously in both language and culture.

The first study of this type was undertaken by Dr. Kuwata (cf., Kuwata and Schramm, 1956; Kuwata, 1957), using Japanese and Korean bilinguals and then Japanese monolinguals. The design was as follows: (1) A large number of bi-polar adjectival scales that had been used in factorial studies with Americans were first translated into both Japanese and Korean, using one group of bilinguals, and then a different group of bilinguals translated the Japanese or Korean materials back into English. Only those scales which survived this controlled back-translation procedure (i.e., were translation-equivalent) were kept for further use. (2) Two other groups of Japanese/English and Korean/English bilinguals judged a set of concepts against these scales, half of each group taking the English version first and the translation-equivalent native language version about a month later and the other half vice versa; a monolingual American control group merely took the same test twice over the same interval. Not only were factorial correspondences high for the bilinguals across English and native languages (.93 or better of a maximum possible of 1.00), but these correspondences were as high as for monolingual Americans merely doing the same task twice. In other words, when the same individuals are involved, difference in the language code per se has no influence upon the semantic factor structure obtained. (3) Translation-equivalent forms were then administered to monolingual Japanese living in Japan and monolingual Americans living in this country; although the factorial correspondences were not as high as for bilinguals (i.e., the same individuals tested twice), they were very high for the first (evaluative) factor and significant for two others (potency and activity).

A second study was done by Suci (reported in 1959), using Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni Indians and Mexican-Spanish in our Southwest as compared with separate American controls for each group (this was because the concepts being judged differed somewhat from group to group). This research was part of the Southwest Project in Comparative Psycholinguistics, supported by the Carnegie Foundation via the Social Science Research Council. The dominant factors were shown to be common across all of these groups and their matched controls -- an evaluative factor and a potency factor. These correspondences, although reaching a satisfactory level of significance, were not as high as between Japanese and Americans. However, since most of these subjects were illiterate, the tests had to be administered individually and verbally, and the reliabilities were lower.

A third study was done by Sridinidhi and O'Leary (1958), comparing monolingual Greek with monolingual American college students. The back-

translation procedures developed by Kikata were used in devising the forms, but the bilingual test was not made (deemed unnecessary, given the Japanese and Korean results). With 20 varied concepts being judged against 30 descriptive scales, and 69 Greeks vs. 43 Americans doing the judging, square root factor analyses yielded three major corresponding factors, identifiable as evaluation, potency, and activity. The indices of factorial similarity were reasonably high (.89, .83, and .89 respectively), and these factors together accounted for 61% of the total variance in each group.

The generally high agreement in factors of connotation across language/culture groups does not rule out the possibility of differences in the usage of particular scales, and these differences could be important in cross-cultural communication. Both Japanese and Koreans, for example, use delicate-minded as an evaluative scale, in contrast to Americans for whom it is mainly a potency indicator. Suci found that all of the Pueblo Indian groups, as contrasted with Americans and Mexican-Spanish, used industry-logy as a pure evaluative judgment, while the Navajo also have a unique usage of fast-logy (and one which fits in with their mythology). The Greeks give much more favorable evaluative connotation to staid, active, honest, careful, and severe (as opposed to loose) than do Americans, and this again seems to jibe with what we know about their culture.

Furthermore, similarity in semantic factor structure does not, of course, mean that concepts must be judged the same way within this framework. In fact, it is the existence of a shared framework that makes it possible to directly compare differences in the meanings of particular concepts. In Suci's study of the 1952 election, for example, Taft Republicans, Eisenhower Republicans, and Stevenson Democrats were shown to have identical political frames of reference (i.e., identical scale relations), yet they differed extremely, and in anticipated ways, in their allocation of concepts like FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN, SENATOR McCARTHY, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, and OUR POLICY IN CHINA within this framework. Similarly, in the Greek study, it was possible to select a set of scales representing shared factors and then proceed to compare Greek and American meanings of certain concepts; for example, Americans see FEMALE as much more colorful, available, unusual and warm than do Greeks, while Greeks see MODERATE as more socially, colorfully, warm and public than do Americans -- differences which again seem to jibe with what we know about these two cultures.

Cross-cultural studies of visual-verbal synesthetic tendencies have also been made as another way of demonstrating generality of connotative meaning systems (Osgood, 1959). Americans, Mexican-Spanish, Navajo, and Japanese subjects were compared. Using a deck of about 15 cards, on each of which was a pair of visual displays differing in only one characteristic (e.g., a black circle vs. a white circle, a jagged line vs. a curved line, a thin cylinder vs. a thin cylinder, etc.), subjects slowly went through pointing to that side of each card which seemed to go best with a word in their language (e.g., "happy," or "hard" or "weak," etc.). Not only were within-culture synesthetic agreements high (an average of 90% of all items showing agreement significant at the

15 level), but when between-culture comparisons were made, using only those cases where both groups being compared showed significant within-group agreement, nearly perfect coincidence in the direction of synesthetic choices was found. Humans generally (to the extent that this sample is representative) think of "gray" as colorful, thin (vs. thick), and bright; they conceive of "dark" as heavy, rough, colorless, thick, dark, and muted; they think of "loose" as thin, light, rough, and bright -- keep in mind that the underlined terms are inverted for visually presented alternatives. It was also found that what are meaningfully opposite terms for Anglos, e.g., "heavy-light," "happy-sad," "strong-weak," "black-white," and so forth, are also treated as opposites by the other language/culture groups, as determined from the reciprocal pattern of their visual choices for opposite verbal concepts.

These marked similarities in synesthetic tendencies, and in connotative semantic structure more generally, lead one to ask why. Some of these relationships may be innately determined, perhaps the reflection of tropistic reactions from beneath layers of culture. The regularity with which judgments on the activity factor parallel the visual spectrum may be a case in point -- reds are consistently judged hot, noisy, active, exciting, and the like while blues are judged cool, quiet, passive, and calming. However, given general similarities of physical environment and biological make-up of humans throughout the world, common principles of learning also would result in the independent acquisition of many relations. The dominant evaluative factor, for example, is presumably based on the bedrock of human capacity to experience rewards and punishments; the potency factor is probably based on the fact that humans are all equally capable of experiencing variations in sensory intensity (loudness, brightness, heaviness, etc.) and required to vary the effort and energy expended in reacting to objects, if they are to survive. More specific relationships can also be learned independently, but commonly; for example, it is a general fact about the relation between the physical world and the human organism that as noise generating objects come closer or move away, auditory loudness covaries with visual size -- it is not, therefore, surprising to find that loud is associated with large while soft is associated with small. The generality we have found so far in connotative meaning systems presumably reflects the accumulation in languages of many such regularities based on commonness of physical environment and the species.

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III. METHODS

The first step in this research will be to hold a Planning Conference, probably during January, 1960, to which about 15 outside people will be invited. There will be men who are specialists in cross-cultural research, from anthropological, sociological, linguistic, psychological and communications approaches. From these experts we will solicit help of several sorts: in selecting the six countries to be studied during this period, in choosing appropriate social scientists working in those countries to be contacted as collaborators in the research, in deciding what kinds of subject-samples will be most available and useful, in selecting significant concepts (content areas) for final analysis, and so on. We shall also use this group as a critical sounding-board for the research methods described below, so these methods should be considered somewhat tentative, at least in their details.

The data from each country being studied will be collected in three phases. There will be approximately six months between each phase, to allow time for statistical analysis on IIR ~~results~~ of the data previously collected and for collection of comparison-control data from American subjects. At present we plan to use the equivalent of high school students as subjects in all countries; high school students have their own languages and cultures well absorbed, but usually have not become very sophisticated cross-culturally, and furthermore, they do not pose the difficult problems that locating a random or stratified sample in each area would involve. In Phase I we will obtain a large sample of bi-polar linguistic qualifiers (in English, adjectival opposites) and then determine their factorial structure by a paired-comparison technique; in Phase II we will check on the comparability of semantic differentials constructed on the basis of the previous factorial results, using both bilinguals and monolinguals in each country; in Phase III we will apply these differentials to the measurement of certain critical concepts, both a standard set of concepts for all countries and a unique, culturally-considered set for each country -- again, with American comparison-controls. Table I outlines these procedures.

Table 1

OUTLINE OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

<u>Experimental Country</u>	<u>American Control</u>
<u>Phase I:</u>	
(a) sampling linguistic qualifiers	(a) back-translation of (a) qualifiers into English
(b) paired-comparisons among linguistic qualifiers	(c) paired-comparisons among these linguistic qualifiers
(c) FA (factor analysis) of the data from (b)	(r) FA of the data from (c) and comparison with FA results in (c)
<u>Phase II:</u>	
(c) bilingual check on comparability (long form)	(j) back-translation of (h) forms into English
(h) monolingual check on comparability (long form)	(k) monolingual check for comparability (long form)
(i) FA of data from (g) and (h)	(l) FA of the data from (k) and comparison with FA results in (i)
<u>Phase III:</u>	
(n) monolingual measurement of critical concepts (short form)	(n) monolingual measurement of the same critical concepts (back-translated, short form)
(o) semantic profile and of degree of similarity as measured	

Application of Table I. Phase I, (a). A possible criticism of our earlier cross-cultural studies is that, by using back-translation from our English scales as the basis for sampling qualifier dimensions in other countries, we may have biased the situation in favor of finding similarities. In the proposed research we will start "from scratch" in each language/culture area. Word-association technique, with 'nouns' as stimuli and 'adjectives' requested as responses, will be used to collect a large sample of qualifiers. The 90 (approximately) most frequently used qualifiers will be made into pairs of opposites for further analysis. (b) In the paired-comparison method, each bi-polar pair of linguistic qualifiers is paired with every other pair, with subjects asked to indicate the appropriate direction of relationship, e.g., HOT - cold; happy - sad -- does happy or sad seem closest in meaning to the capitalized HOT? This method eliminates the biasing effects of particular concepts upon the meanings of scales and therefore permits a purer test of scale relations. (c) Thurstone's Centroid method of factoring, with unitaries in the diagonals, and the Varimax method of rotation will be used consistently throughout all analyses. (d) The back-translation procedures used by Kuwata, in which one group of bilinguals translates from language X into English and another group independently translates their materials back into language X for validation, will be used throughout this research. (NOTE: if there is considerable loss of terms in back-translation, the procedures will be revised with close synonyms.)

Phase II, (a). The procedures used by Kuwata in his studies of Japanese and Korean bilinguals will also be used here: essentially, that half of the bilinguals take the form first in their native language and later (about a month) in English, and vice versa for the other half. Here (and subsequently) we will use the standard graphic form of differential, in which concepts are judged against 7-step scales, defined by the bi-polar qualifiers. In these checks on comparability, we will use a long form of differential, in which all of the corresponding (translatable) scales appear. For this bilingual test, the concepts will be a standard set which cultural anthropologists would expect to vary minimally in meaning across groups (e.g., HONESTY, FEAR, KNOW, FOOD, INFANT, etc.). (b) The differential given to monolinguals will be identical with that given the bilinguals above, except that an additional set of concepts, culturally conditioned to a high degree, will be added. These will be unique for each country studied, e.g., SUICIDE for Japanese, JET for Egyptians, FINEST CEMENT for Cuban Americans, and so forth. (c) The correspondence of factors obtained from bilinguals taking the test in English and in language X will be determined, and these differences compared with the test-retest reliability values obtained from Americans (see (k) following). (d) One American control group will take the same test given to the monolinguals of country X (which includes the concepts and scales given to the bilinguals). They will be given this test twice, about a month apart, to provide a reliability check. (e) Data for the relatively stable, standard concepts will be factor analyzed, and comparisons of American results made with both bilingual and monolingual results for country X. The semantic profiles for Americans vs. country X subjects on the culturally conditioned concepts will be compared for the expected differences, as a validity check.

Phase III, (a). A more efficient, short form of differential will

be used in this phase. It will include only a subset of those qualifiers whose factorial composition has remained stable in the preceding factor analyses and whose factor loadings correspond between American subjects and subject from country X. New samples of monolingual subjects will be used, and the number of concepts will be increased. The exact nature of the critical concepts to be measured remains to be determined, but the following are suggested as possibilities: (1) national and ethnic stereotypes (e.g., JEWS, AMERICANS, NEGROES, RUSSIANS, GERMANS, etc.); (2) various aspects of the American way of life (e.g., DOLLARS, "CART", MOVIE STARS, NEW YORK CITY, COLLEGE, COCA-COLA, etc.); conceptions of the self and others (e.g., THE KIND OF PERSON I AM, THE KIND OF PERSON I'D LIKE TO BE, MOST X'S [country label], POLICE, DOCTORS, etc.); individual and social institutions (e.g., PRIVACY, MARRIAGE, EDUCATION, THE LAW, MY ANCESTORS, etc.); basic values and orientations (e.g., LIFE, DEATH, TIME, THE FUTURE, PROGRESS, COMPROMISE, etc.). (c) Since the same set of critical concepts will have been judged by nonindians in all countries, but on semantically equivalent measuring instruments, it will be possible to compare directly both semantic profiles (e.g., determine which countries place the highest valuation on the "old" concept and which the lowest) and semantic distances (e.g., do Egyptians show a greater difference in meaning between themselves and Americans than do the people of India?).

As time permits, certain additional supplementary studies will be made. For one thing, we would like to extend our earlier studies on the cross-cultural generality of visual-verbal synesthetic tendencies, using the same materials and techniques described in section II. C who is just completing his doctoral thesis on the cross-cultural generality of sound symbolism (e.g., that high vowels have connotations of small size and low vowels of large size), would like to extend this work through our sample of language/culture groups. A unique analysis of the concepts we have called "culturally stable" should yield some interesting preliminary information for cultural anthropologists and linguists on just what aspects of human behavior are most resistant to cultural impact. Other supplementary studies will undoubtedly occur to us as we proceed and will be undertaken to the extent that they do not interfere with the major program outlined above.

IV. PERIOD OF THIS RESEARCH

The present grant is requested for a period of three years, from January, 1960 through December, 1962. During this period we plan to study approximately six countries. The data collection phases discussed above will be staggered over the three years in the different countries, so as to provide an even flow of data collection and processing, without overloading our staff and facilities. This will also distribute the foreign travel that is required over reasonable intervals (see note on foreign travel under budget). Table 2 shows how the phases of data sampling will be distributed over time and countries, according to present plans; Roman numerals represent the phases discussed above. We expect to be able to start with Phase I in the two South American (one actually in Central America, probably) countries during the spring of the first year, while our initial trips to other areas are being made. By spring of the second year, we will be in full operation on all phases, but in different countries. By spring of the third year we plan to be tapering off on data collection and spending most of our time on data analysis and writing up.

Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF DATA SAMPLING OVER TIME AND COUNTRIES

<u>Area</u>	<u>Periods</u>					
	1960		1961		1962	
	Spring	Fall	Spring	Fall	Spring	Fall
SOUTH AMERICA	A I	II	III			
	B I	II	III			
EUROPE	C	I	II	III		
	D	I	II	III		
ASIA AND MIDDLE EAST	E		I	II	III	
	F		I	II	III	

V. ESTIMATED BUDGET

	1/1/60 12/31/60	1/1/61 12/31/61	1/1/62 12/31/62
<u>Personnel:</u>			
Principal Investigator, [REDACTED] C	1,667	1,667	1,667
Research associate (Ph.D.), [REDACTED] C	3,500	7,500	7,500
(Statistical analysis, computer)			
Research associate (Ph.D.), Z	7,000	7,500	7,500
(Sociolinguist)			
Grad. research assistant, 1/2 time,	2,400	2,400	2,400
Harir			
Grad. research assistant, 1/2 time,	800	2,400	2,400
Y (statistical work)			
Grad. research assistant, 1/2 time,	800	2,400	2,400
Z (statistical work)			
Secretary, clerk-typist, 1/2 time	1,500	1,500	1,500
Clerical help, 25 hours/week	1,500	1,500	1,500
<u>Retirement:</u>			
(9.37% salaries of all full-time staff - [REDACTED] C, and secretary)	1,662	1,799	1,799
<u>Workmen's Compensation:</u>			
(1% all salaries and wages)	227	269	269
<u>Permanent equipment:</u>			
141 Executive typewriter	450		
Two 4 drawer files	150		
<u>Expendable supplies:</u>			
Blank stenobills, paper, clips, etc.	1,000	1,000	1,000
Telephone, telegraph, stamps, etc.	500	500	500
<u>Rent, office space:</u>			
(Rent: not included in totals below) (400)		(1,200)	(1,200)
<u>Travel:</u>			
	10,000	10,000	3,000
<u>Other expenses:</u>			
10,000 [REDACTED] F	3,000	5,000	1,000
B [REDACTED]	1,000	2,000	2,000
Planning Conference	3,000		
<hr/>			
Total Direct Costs:	40,155	47,395	36,335
Indirect Costs (15%)	6,023	7,109	5,450
<hr/>			
Total per year:	46,178	54,504	41,785

Total Cost: \$142,537 for three year period.

Notes on the estimated budget: (1) [redacted] The principal investigator plans to spend approximately 1/4 of his time during the academic year on this research, without pay from the grant, and 1/2 time during the summer, with pay from the grant. (2) [redacted] Although [redacted] will contribute to the planning of the project during the spring of 1960, the load of statistical analysis for which he will be responsible will not begin until the first summer, at which time [redacted] go full-time on the project. (3) Ethnolinguist. We have not secured the man for this position yet, but have several possibilities. I hope to be able to hire the right person as of January or February, 1960. Once foreign contacts are arranged and plans agreed upon with the social science personnel in the countries to be studied, the ethnolinguist will be mainly responsible for data collection, handling translation problems, and the like, with the aid of the foreign personnel. (4) [redacted] is ideally equipped by his background and his knowledge of Arabic to help the ethnolinguist in the Middle East; he will also handle our collection and analysis of background information on the various cultures we are studying. (5) The other two academic research assistants will work under [redacted] one being responsible for collection and analysis of the American control data and the other for analysis of the data from other countries. Both will be competent in the use of IBM [redacted] as is [redacted]. (6) A secretary (1/2 time) is required to handle the project correspondence and to prepare the various test forms as they are required. (7) Clerical help (\$5 hour/week) is needed for IBM key punching of the data and for other incidental chores (minor statistical work, assembly of forms, etc.).

(8) Retirement. A charge of 9.667% of salaries of all full-time staff paid by the grant is required. [redacted] it applies to the share of salary paid by the grant, even though the personnel involved are not full-time on the grant itself. (9) Workmen's compensation (1%) required on all salaries and wages. (10) Permanent equipment. An IBM executive-type typewriter is needed for making print-like stencils for the various test forms we will be using. The files will be used for storing both project data and supplementary information regarding the countries we are studying. (11) Travelable supplies. The costs here represent the large amounts of misappropriating that will be necessary for supplying about four different test forms to about 100 subjects in each of six countries, plus the American control; in equipment. There will also be considerable use of the mails. (12) Rent. Space is not valuable and difficult commodity to obtain in [redacted]. [redacted] expects to be moved to larger quarters by the fall of 1960, when the full operation of this project will be getting underway; in this case, no additional rented space will be required, so this item has not been added into the totals. However, as discussed with the executive secretary of the Society, and agreed to, we will request the extra funds for this purpose if necessary. In this case, there would be some reduction in the indirect cost.

Travel. Foreign travel accounts for a large portion of the budget. The figures are based on estimates made by the local travel agency for the following: first class air trips: 1960. Trips into North America and around the world (Middle East, and Europe) [redacted] and the ethnolinguist; a return trip to North America by the ethnolinguist. C

1961. A trip to North America and two trips to Europe, the Middle East

and ~~by~~ the ethnologist; one trip to the Middle East ~~1962~~.
A trip to the Middle East and India by the ethnologist. Each of these
trips includes stop-overs of about two weeks duration in each country being
studied.

Other expenses. The amounts for ~~generals~~ for ~~are~~ based
on \$500 for each of the three phases of data collection (including help
with the back-translation procedures) for each of six men in the countries
studied, i.e., \$3,000 total. The expenses for ~~are~~ (including costs of ~~B~~
preparatory B.I. materials and processing) are based on their charge of \$20
per hour. There will be four sizeable factor analyses and rotations for
each country, and this must be double by the American control in each case;
further, there will be subsidiary analyses of profiles and distances, using
~~B~~ Finally, the Planning Conference costs are based on
an estimate of 15 people at \$200 per person for travel and maintenance;
the conference will be held at ~~B~~
where the board and lodging expenses are very reasonable, considering the
excellent conference facilities.

~~B~~ estimates its actual indirect costs for research projects
at approximately 25% of total direct costs. However, the figure it will
use in this case is 15% (as shown in the budget). The difference is con-
sidered part of ~~contribution~~ to the research. ~~B~~
is eligible for tax-exemption privileges.

VI. QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES AVAILABLE

the

~~C~~ His major fields of research
interest have been in human learning, language and communication. He is
author of a graduate text ~~and co-author of a research book~~

~~with~~ He has edited and contributed to several books of an inter-
disciplinary nature: ~~and~~

He is author of various research papers in
human learning and language behavior. He has been a Social Science Research
Council Faculty Fellow (1961-62), a Guggenheim Fellow (1963-64), and
Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.
He is a member of the American Psychological Association,
the Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Linguistic
Society of America.

~~C~~ He
has published four scientific papers ~~and his associates~~
and has several unpublished research papers on psycholinguistics.

has training in psychology, linguistics, experimental phonetics, and mathematical statistics. He is highly competent in high speed digital computer and ILM data processing, and also in research design. He is a member of the Linguistic Society of America, the American Speech and Hearing Association, the Acoustical Society of America, and the American Psychological Association.

He is presently working toward his Ph.D.

He has also studied at

He is fluent in Hebrew and English, speaks some Hebrew and American, and reads in French and German.

Other Research Personnel. We plan to bring an ethnohistorian into the project who will be primarily responsible for the selection and translation of materials in the various language/culture groups being studied and for the collection of the foreign data. Ideally, he will be a young man either with his Ph.D. or in the final thesis stages; he will be competent in descriptive linguistics and in cultural anthropology; if he is fluent in one or more European languages, so much the better; if he has had considerable international travel and sophistication, also so much the better. This man will work with the principal investigator on arranging contacts with social scientists in the countries to be studied and on the setting up and sampling of data in these countries. The two additional graduate research assistants will be under [redacted] direction; one will be chiefly responsible for the collection and processing of data from American controls and the other will be primarily responsible for processing of the foreign data. Both will be competent in ILM and digital computer operations.

Facilities [redacted] On its staff are people in linguistics, anthropology, psychology, sociology, economics, and mass communications. The entire staff contributes its advice and skills to [redacted] research projects, as needed. The project staff will have access to [redacted] high speed data processing services, which include the latest ILM equipment, an ILM 650 computer, [redacted]

in operation before the completion of this project. [redacted] for all of the data processing operations we now plan to make (correlation matrices, factor analyses, rotations, multiple distance measures, etc.) are available and have been used in our previous work; [redacted] provides expert help in devising new programs should they be needed. [redacted] is presently exploring ways to acquire the remaining membership in the Human Relations Area Files or, if this is not possible, the microfilm series of these files. We will also have access to the complete files in the library of [redacted] if needed. These files will be extremely valuable to our project, both in securing background information on the particular areas being studied and in sampling for both standard and culturally-conditioned concepts.

VII. ORDER SUMMARY

To obtain source of support for this cross-cultural research is being considered.

DRAFT
21 July 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Project MKULTRA, Subproject 95

1. The purpose of Subproject 95 is to support the work of

C [REDACTED] in the field of cross-cultural meaning systems as outlined in the attached letter of proposal. While this proposal is couched in very broad terms, it includes those areas of paramount importance to the Agency in connection with problems in [REDACTED] and the technical support of political activities.

2. This proposal and the personnel to be involved in the project have been reviewed and evaluated by [REDACTED]

B [REDACTED] and by a panel of experts in the particular field of investigation. It was recommended that the proposal be accepted. [REDACTED] A

G [REDACTED], originally received the proposal for the Agency and is conducting current negotiations with

C [REDACTED] pending the transfer of his covert approval to TSS/CD.

C [REDACTED] expects to plan the details of his research design when he is able to discuss the project with representatives of TSS/CD. Actually, few if any changes will be required to direct the work toward pertinent Agency goals.

[REDACTED]

- 2 -

3. This project will be funded through [REDACTED] B

B [REDACTED] for security and cover purposes and the accounting for funds expended in it shall conform to the established practices of that organization. It is not anticipated that any permanent equipment will be required for the project, but should that occasion arise, it will become the property of [REDACTED]

B [REDACTED] in lieu of higher overhead charges.

4. Travel funds expended under this project and normally reimbursable by [REDACTED] shall conform to the accounting practices of that organization. B

5. The total cost of this project for a period of one year is estimated not to exceed \$56,500.00 as indicated in the attached budget. Charges should be made against allotment 0525-1009-4902.

C [REDACTED] holds an Agency covert approval. All other project personnel are unwitting and the project will be conducted as an academic research program.

[REDACTED] A
Chief
TSS/Chemical Division

Approved:

[REDACTED] A
Research Director

Date:

7/23/59

Attachment:

Budget & Ltr of Proposal

Distribution:

Original only

[REDACTED]

95-36

BUDGET

1959 - 1960

Personnel	\$40,000.00
Supplies and Materials	2,500.00
Services (Computer Time)	3,000.00
Travel and Communication	5,000.00
University Overhead (15%)	<u>6,000.00</u>
TOTAL	\$56,500.00

 C

95-32

April 23, 1960

Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear _____

I met _____ at the Eastern Psychological Association meetings _____ for days ago, and he told me that he had talked to you at _____ about our research on the cross-cultural generality of semantic systems and about our plans for future research along these lines. He also encouraged me to write to you directly about the possibility of support for this research through your agency or some other government organization. I welcome the opportunity to do this, because I believe we have developed techniques for obtaining information of value in improving intercultural communication, insight and understanding. Since this is an exploratory letter, and since I do not know what form a formal proposal should take in any case, I shall merely indicate in general terms the background of our work and the nature of our proposal.

For the past ten years members of the staff of _____ have been working on the development of quantitative techniques for measuring certain aspects of meaning. The semantic differential, as the technique has come to be called, is described in detail in _____ with applications that have been made in the study of voting behavior in national elections, in studies of attitude formation and change, in personality and psychotherapy research, and in a variety of cross-cultural studies.

One of the applications of this technique in which I have been particularly interested has been in the study of cross-cultural meaning systems. With the cooperation of several staff members, graduate students (Frank Brown), and several assistants located in or traveling through various places, we have been able to collect data from Germans, Russians, Greeks, Indonesians, and the Malays, and, first, findings of our own _____ analysis of the similarities and differences between the language groups (a brief summary

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April 23, 1959

Page two

of methods is given below) has indicated a surprising degree of similarity in the basic semantic dimensions within which meaningful judgments are made. Although such evidence for cross-linguistic and cross-cultural generality of meaning systems is of considerable theoretical interest in itself, of more practical importance is the fact that this information may make it possible for us to devise common "yardsticks" for comparing the attitudes, values, and beliefs of diverse peoples throughout the world.

So far this cross-cultural work has been conducted on a "catch as catch can" basis, as you can see. I would like to see it put on a systematic basis. I would particularly like to study countries bordering on the "Iron Curtain" -- Germany, Poland, Austria, Turkey, India, and so on -- as well as our South American neighbors. This is a large order, however, and would require substantial support. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the exploratory, pilot studies have already been done, as indicated above; what is envisaged is a systematic application of these techniques to a selected sample of world cultures.

The work in each country studied would fall into two major phases.

Phase I is the "tool-making" stage; it involves determining the semantic factors used by each group and testing their comparability with those used by Americans. First, to obtain samples of descriptive dimensions (e.g., strong-weak, good-bad, quick-slow, etc.) from native speakers in their own language by word-classification techniques. Then we determine how these descriptive dimensions are interrelated, (a) with each other in general (e.g., does strong, as opposed to weak, mean closest in relation to legal or to right?), and (b) when used in the judgment of a diversified set of standard cultural concepts. Both sets of data are factor analyzed.

Phase II involves the use of the tools made in Phase I to determine the major dimensions along which meaningful discriminations are being made by people in this country. To test for comparability with the American factor structure, the new descriptive dimensions are translated into English by one group of bilinguals and then translated back into the language of country X by a different group of bilinguals to check for accuracy of translation. For the American subjects, matched with the foreign ones for age, sex, socioeconomic status and the like, then do the same thing, and the correspondence in factor structure is determined. As a final check on the influence of the language per se, a sample of bilingual subjects do the tests first in one language and then the other, and verify the stability of a factor structure is tested. (Note: Kuhl's work on German and Russian bilinguals indicates that the factor structures of German-Russians were nearly identical to those in the different languages and were different from the monolinguals talking in the same language. Reported correspondence of .93 / of a possible 1.00 / as better than found in each case.)

April 23, 1959

A

Page three

Phase IV is the "tool-using" stage; it involves setting up a matrix of variables from the information obtained in Phase I and applying them to the analysis of the residues of significant concepts. Assuming that comparable factor structures for the various countries being studied have been demonstrated (and our task so far indicates that this is likely), studies can represent these factors are put together into a single tool which can be used quickly and efficiently in each language/culture community. Due to the analytic power of the factorial method, as far as 10 or 12 scales may be a large portion of the variables originally displayed by an early on the scales. Since these scales are selected on representing comparable factor across different groups, we now have multiple common "products" for measuring the meanings of concepts cross-culturally. The scales used are not necessarily the same for different groups (that is, translation-equivalent), but they do reflect the same basic factors in meaningful judgments.

Most particular concepts are to be differentiated against this measuring instrument in the various countries depends upon the interests of the investigators and the explanation supporting this work. The following are several examples: (1) Individual and ethnic personality (e.g., J.A.S., A.M.H., H.M.H., G.H.M., etc.). It is often desirable to look in comparative, qualitative terms, how people in various countries perceive people of other nations, including our own, and how these images change under the pressure of events (for example, the Chinese Communist invasion of Tibet). (2) Various aspects of the human way of life (e.g., RELIGION, GOVT., INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, RECREATION, ARTS, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, etc.). It should be possible to determine which aspects of our way of life are understood and which misunderstood, which accepted and which rejected, and on what grounds. (3) Comparison of the self and others (e.g., THE SELF vs. THE OTHER, THE SELF vs. THE OTHER, THE SELF vs. THE OTHER, etc.). This type of study is important for the study of the self and others -- as relatively good or not so good, as relatively positive or negative -- should have implications for how they would react to various policies and events. Discriminate between good and bad and indicate one's inclination as to what needs are felt that we might deal with. (4) The individual and social functioning (e.g., RELIGION, GOVT., INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, RECREATION, ARTS, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, etc.). For example, I suspect that one of the chief objectives to tonight's work was of life in the future and clearly point to the individual and social life given to symbols of institutionalized behavior. (5) Individual and social life (e.g., RELIGION, GOVT., INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, RECREATION, ARTS, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, etc.). This type of study is important for the study of the self and others -- as relatively good or not so good, as relatively positive or negative -- should have implications for how they would react to various policies and events. Discriminate between good and bad and indicate one's inclination as to what needs are felt that we might deal with.

April 23, 1950

Page four

With regard to personnel, I think that a research project of the scope I have outlined would require three junior staff people at the Ph.D. level (a typographer to handle design and statistical analysis with [redacted] progress, a cultural anthropologist or sociologist to deal with collection of materials and sampling in various countries, and a linguist to handle translation and related problems), two graduate-student research assistants, and a social scientist located in each of the countries being studied. Additional funds would be required for use [redacted] for travel and residence in each of the countries studied on the part of the anthropologist and linguist, for payment of foreign and American subjects, for production of materials and other incidental expenses, and for overhead. I would estimate the total cost at between \$50,000 and \$55,000 per year, including the salaries of the staff. I think we would be able to collect, process, and report the data for two countries per year on this basis, along with the comparison data from Americans. I would like to see an initial grant for three years' work (six language/culture groups), in order to be able to obtain the calibre people we would need for the staff; depending on the value of the information being obtained, the project could be extended to other countries or ended at the termination of the three-year period.

I have available at [redacted] a top-notch young psychologist who is just finishing his thesis (in this area of study), is an excellent statistician, and is familiar with [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] through my contact with the [redacted] [redacted] (sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation through the Social Science Research Council) I have several young ethnologists who might be interested in this research. [redacted] staff is generally [redacted] familiar with this type of research, and we have the necessary programs for the vector analysis, statistics, and other statistical procedures that would be involved. I also know a number of social scientists in other countries who might be willing to work with us themselves or at least could recommend suitable people for us. I am not, of course, unaware of the difficulties connected with doing studies of this sort in foreign countries. This is why I think it is necessary to work through professional people in the one nation of the country concerned and who are also interested in the research problem. We have done this successfully in both the Japanese and Greek studies.

Now, in general, might research of this kind be useful to any government agency directly concerned with the production and interpretation of international communications? In the first place, this research is so broad in scope that it would include attitudes, meanings, values, and beliefs held by people in other countries which observers, travelers

April 23, 1959

Page Five

and context applies with long training and such experience may arrive at by more tacit or intuitive means. Although it avoids the biases of particular observers, it probably loses something of the sensitivity they have developed. It is therefore complementary to, cross-checking and validating, the information obtained through the usual channels. Secondly, the simple demonstration of a shared framework for human thinking, regardless of race or nationality, should in itself encourage international understanding and reduce suspicions. Thirdly, the clear isolation of differences in the meanings of concepts enables us to do a better job of talking to others and understanding what they are saying to us. Inter-cultural communications are particularly liable to the mechanics of projection -- when we talk about DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, POLICE FORCE, or even such baroque things as FCCU, RACE and RIGHTS, and use such ordinary descriptive terms as purple, high, or strong, we implicitly assume that they have sufficiently similar meanings that translation-equivalent words will carry our intentions across. But DEMOCRACY to the Germans still connotes something weak and ineffectual; MIXED INDIVIDUALISM connotes something purely tied to the moment; with none of the potency and pride which we attribute to the term; again is a positively evaluated quality to Greeks, although it is somewhat negative to us. Fourth, knowing the force of the MIXED SYSTEM and of MIXEDNESS held by others, particularly knowing how it varies from place to place and from time to time, should enable us to do a more effective and selective job of correcting and improving this force. Finally, knowing how people in a particular country view certain critical concepts, it should be possible to predict more accurately both what policies they are likely to initiate and support and what their reactions are likely to be to policies we initiate.

This has proven to be a much longer letter than I had originally intended, and I apologize for the size you must have put into it. However, not knowing exactly what you would have wanted, I thought I should try to give you as clear a picture as possible at the risk of some redundancy. I enclose a reprint of the study made with Henry Thiele of Greek vs. American reading systems -- the discussion section includes some concrete examples of how comparable instruments can yield information on differences in "world view" (although the Greek study was not designed for this purpose). If you are interested in exploring the possibility of research along these lines further, I will be glad to have my copies of Dr. Kasten's thesis on the Japanese and Korean civil of Dr. Sael's paper on the Indians of the Southwest sent to you. I can also send you a copy of [redacted] if you wish.

[REDACTED] A

April 23, 1959

Page six

I will appreciate hearing your reactions to this proposal. If you do not think it is something CIA could support, then I would like to have any alternative suggestions you might care to make.

Sincerely yours,

C [REDACTED]

B [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] C

Enclosure